

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 DLOS-06 OES-06
SAL-01 IO-13 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 INR-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PRS-01 EB-07 L-03 /090 W
-----101520Z 124080 /46 L

R 101340Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6051
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 0190

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, TU, GR
SUBJ: MFA OFFICIAL'S EXPECTATIONS FOR LONDON CONTINENTAL SHELF
NEGOTIATIONS

REF: ATHENS 079

1. JANUARY 7 EMBOFF REVIEWED WITH MFA AEGEAN/LOS CHIEF
TURMEN TURKISH EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING CONTINENTAL SHELF
NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE WHICH WILL RECONVENE IN LONDON
JANUARY 31. ALTHOUGH HE INITIALLY EXPRESSED OPTIMISM ABOUT
HOW THAT SESSION WOULD FARE, TURMEN CONCLUDED AFTER A
REVIEW OF HIS CONCERNS THAT PERHAPS "GUARDED OPTIMISM"
WOULD BEST CHARACTERIZE HIS SENTIMENTS.

2. TURMEN'S PRINCIPAL APPREHENSIONS SEEMED TO BE BASED ON
HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE RECENT GREECE-PAKISTAN COMMUNIQUE,
ISSUED AFTER CARAMANLIS'S VISIT TO ISLAMABAD, WHICH HE
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SAID REVEALED GREEK "DISTORTIONS" OF THE BERN
AGREEMENT WHICH MIGHT INDICATE BASIC DIFFERENCES IN THE
TWO COUNTRIES' EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING THE NEGOTIATIONS.
THE GREEK-PAKISTAN COMMUNIQUE, HE ALLEGED, PLACED A SOLUTION
TO THE DISPUTE SOLELY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ARTICLES EIGHT
AND NINE OF THE BERN AGREEMENT (I.E, A JOINT COMMISSION
WHICH WOULD STUDY THE PRACTICES OF STATES AND INTERNATIONAL

RULES) THUS GIVING PRIMACY TO THE ROLE OF THE JOINT COMMISSION. TURKEY, IN CONTRAST, IS OF THE OPINION THAT ARTICLE ONE OF THE AGREEMENT TAKES PRIMACY, THAT FRANK, EXTENSIVE, GOOD-WILLED NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE. THE JOINT COMMISSION IN TURKEY'S VIEW DOES NOT REPLACE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT MERELY ASSISTS THE NEGOTIATORS IN THE STUDY OF POTENTIALLY USEFUL PRECEDENTS AND PRACTICES.

3. SECONDLY, ACCORDING TO TURMEN, THE GREECE-PAKISTAN COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED LANGUAGE TO THE EFFECT THAT A SOLUTION "WOULD" BE BASED ON THE APPLICABLE PRINCIPLES AND CRITERIA SELECTED BY THE JOINT COMMISSION. THIS DISTORTED THE BERN AGREEMENT WHICH STATED THAT THESE PRINCIPLES AND CRITERIA "COULD" BE EMPLOYED IN THE DELIMITATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF. ACCORDING TO TURMEN, THE NEGOTIATORS MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT CHOOSE TO UTILIZE THE VARIOUS PRECEDENTS AND ANALOGIES PRESENTED TO THEM.

4. APPEARING AS A REFRAIN THROUGHOUT TURMEN'S CONVERSATION WAS A DEEP SUSPICION ABOUT GREEK INTENTIONS. THIS SUSPICION SURFACED IN SEVERAL CONTEXTS: FIRST, GREECE MIGHT NOT BE INTERESTED IN CONDUCTING SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE IT MAY BE WAITING TO SEE WHAT COULD BE OBTAINED FROM THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. SECOND, GREECE MIGHT ATTEMPT TO PUSH THE JOINT COMMISSION INTO AN UNACCEPTABLE CONSIDERATION OF LEGALISTIC ISSUES, THEN BREAK OFF TALKS AND RETURN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE CLAIMING TURKISH OBSTRUCTIONISM AND UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. THE MOTIVATION FOR THIS COURSE OF ACTION WOULD BE TO AFFECT CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE US-TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA). THIRD, GREECE MIGHT ATTEMPT TO FURTHER DELAY SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BY INSISTING THAT THE JOINT COMMISSION COMPLETE ITS WORK BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN. (THE GOT, HE SAID, PREFERRED SIMULTANEOUS WORK BY THE COMMISSION AND THE NEGOTIATORS).

5. TURMEN ALSO EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS THAT THE LONDON SESSION WOULD DEAL WITH SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES SINCE AS YET THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON THE COMPOSITION, PROCEDURES OR MANDATE OF THE JOINT COMMISSION. HE SAID THAT THE GOT MIGHT REQUEST, AS IT DID AT BERN, THAT THE NEGOTIATORS BEGIN WORK SIMULTANEOUSLY, BUT HE WAS SKEPTICAL THAT THE GREEKS WOULD AGREE.

6. APART FROM TURKISH DOUBTS ABOUT GREEK INTENTIONS, IT BECAME CLEAR DURING THE CONVERSATION THAT THE GOT ITSELF DOES NOT ANTICIPATE ANY EARLY RESOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE. WHEN EMBOFF ASKED IF THE GOT WAS PREPARED TO OFFER SERIOUS NEGOTIATING CONCESSIONS PRIOR TO THE SCHEDULED OCTOBER 1977 GENERAL ELECTIONS (E.G. TO RISK HAVING DETAILS

OF THE NEGOTIATIONS LEAK OUT AND POSSIBLE BECOME CAMPAIGN
ISSUES), TURMEN RESPONDED THAT IT WAS MOST UNLIKELY THAT
THE TWO SIDES WOULD BE ANYWHERE NEAR OFFERING CONCESSIONS
BY THAT TIME. HE SAID HE FORESAW AN EXTENSIVE " FEELING
OUT" PERIOD,AS EACH SIDE DEVELOPED " CONFIDENCE BUILDING
MEASURES," BEFORE EVEN MAXIMUM NEGOTIATION POSITIONS WOULD
EMERGE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CONTINENTAL SHELF, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, AEGEAN
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977ANKARA00190
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770008-1225
Format: TEL
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770168/aaaachiq.tel
Line Count: 124
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2effb6db-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 ATHENS 79
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3636140
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MFA OFFICIAL'S EXPECTATIONS FOR LONDON CONTINENTAL SHELF NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, TU, GR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2effb6db-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009